Title

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ISBN

9780871544858

Author

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Publication Date

2004-12-01

Peer reviewed

Chapter 11

Managing Images of Trustworthiness in Organizations

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TO POSSESS an image of interpersonal trustworthiness is to be perceived by others as displaying (now and in the future) competence, benevolence, and integrity in one's behaviors and beliefs (Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman 1995; Mayer and Davis 1999). In this definition, interpersonal trustworthiness is defined as a perception of trustworthiness from and about social interactions. In a corporate context, competence refers to the abilities and skills that allow a manager to have power and influence in the organization, benevolence refers to a manager's desire to do good on behalf of organizational members, and integrity refers to a manager's adherence to principles or ideals that an organization's members find acceptable. This definition is based on recent frameworks which define trust as "a willingness to be vulnerable to the actions of another party." (Mayer and Davis 1999, 124). That is, where trust is defined as a willingness or intent to submit to the actions of another, trustworthiness is defined as a perception that a trusted person, a trustee, will exhibit specific behaviors that commonly engender a willingness to submit to that person's actions. These definitions of trust and trustworthiness are supported by recent research that identifies both motivation and ability as bases of trust in organizations (Mishra 1996; Brockner and Siegel 1996), and uses the components of intention and belief to define trust (McKnight, Cummings, and Chervany 1998).[1]

Such definitions seem particularly appropriate in managerial settings, where trust often means submitting to the direction of leaders with little

knowledge about the consequences of those directions. In such risky or ambiguous situations, perceived trustworthiness has been shown to be an important factor in engendering people's willingness to subject themselves to the actions of others (Kramer and Tyler 1996). For example, F. David Schoorman, Roger C. Mayer, and James H. Davis (1996) found that perceived trustworthiness in a staff member contributed significantly to a veterinarian's willingness to delegate to that staff member risky tasks such as administering anesthesia. Similarly, in a fourteen-month field study of management performance appraisal systems, Mayer and Davis (1999) found that enhancing perceived benevolence, integrity, and competence by means of implementing a new performance appraisal system increased employees "willingness to let top management have control over" employee and organizational well-being.

Effects of Trustworthiness Perceptions

In general, research on the effects of trustworthiness perceptions provides evidence that such impressions can lead individuals to cooperate and support the trustworthy person by, for example, voting for a trustworthy politician (Sigal et al. 1988) or cooperating with a trustworthy negotiator (Schurr and Ozanne 1985). Further, such impressions can lead individuals to view the trustworthy person as more positive on a number of other traits such as effectiveness as a teacher (Freeman 1988) and believability as a communicator (Lui and Standing 1989). In a similar vein, when organization members perceive managers to be trustworthy, they have been shown to exhibit a number of positive attitudes and behaviors, including citizenship behavior and attentiveness to the needs of others (McAllister 1995), willingness to express opinions in decision-making processes (Dooley and Fryxell 1999), and willingness to obtain help for substance-abuse problems (Harris and Fennell 1988). These behaviors result in positive outcomes for the organization, such as enhanced decision quality (Dooley and Fryxell 1999) and enhanced managerial performance (McAllister 1995).

Antecedents of Trustworthiness Perceptions

Given the important effects of perceptions of interpersonal trustworthiness, organizational researchers have recently begun to explore their antecedents. This research has focused on two factors that have the greatest potential to be changed: behaviors and cognitions.[2]

Behavioral factors. Organizational researchers have examined the behavioral factors that contribute to perceived trustworthiness. A recent review of this work (Whitener et al. 1998) suggests five primary behaviors that managers can exhibit to increase their perceptions of trustworthiness

among employees: behavioral consistency; behavioral integrity; sharing control; accurate, open, and thorough communication; and demonstrating concern.

Behavioral consistency—reliability or predictability—on the part of managers increases employees' confidence in managers' competence and increases employees' willingness to take risks on managers' behalf (Butler 1991; Robinson and Rousseau 1994). Behavioral integrity—telling the truth and keeping promises—reduces employees' perceived risk in working with a manager (Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman 1995). Sharing control by managers enhances employees' abilities to protect their own interests and affirms their self-worth as valued parts of the organization, which increases their perception of managers' benevolence (Tyler and Lind 1992). Accurate, open, and thorough communication about decisions and organizational issues helps employees to feel that there is a sharing and exchanging of ideas, and increases perceptions of managers' integrity (Butler 1991; Hart et al. 1986). Finally, demonstrating concern for employees' well-being—for example, by showing consideration and sensitivity for employees' needs and interests, acting in a way that protects their interests, and refraining from exploiting employees—leads employees to perceive managers as loyal and benevolent.

While this research confirms the notion that, behaviors that exhibit the dimensions of competence, ability, and benevolence will enhance perceptions of trustworthiness, it does not go very far in explicating *how* people interpret such behaviors as evidence of trustworthiness. As Ellen M. Whitener and colleagues (1998, 526) note, "boundary conditions" such as cognitions of perceived similarity and competence may "limit the extent to which managerial trustworthy behavior affects employees' perceptions of trust." Whitener et al. (1998) go on to suggest that understanding how such processes affect perceptions of trustworthiness is an important component to evolving frameworks of managerial trust.

Cognitive factors. In response to the work on behavioral factors, another group of organizational theorists have begun to explore the cognitive factors that might lead to perceptions of trustworthiness. Recent reviews of organizational research suggest that the cognitive processes of social categorization and comparison might explain how perceptions of trustworthiness are established in the minds of organization members. For example, in their framework describing initial trust formation among organization members, D. Harrison McKnight, Larry L. Cummings, and Norman L. Chervany (1998) suggest that social categorization processes influence perceptions of managerial trustworthiness by defining managers in terms of group membership, viz.: (1) in-groups (vs. out-groups); (2) groups that have an organizational reputation for competence, benevolence, or integrity; and (3) stereotypically trustworthy groups, such as

certain religious groups. In the same vein, Michelle Williams (2001) suggests that in most situations, individuals will be more likely to trust in-group members over out-group members because there is less known about out-group members and stereotypes of out-group members are likely to exist (Cox 1993; Donnellon 1996)—but that in certain situations individuals may openly trust out-group members, for example, in situations where there is a professional norm of "goodwill" between groups (Meyerson, Weick, and Kramer 1996). Williams (2001) also suggests that categorizations that highlight professional legitimacy and professional norms of trustworthy behavior are likely to enhance perceptions of trustworthiness.

Taken together, the organizational research on behavioral and cognitive antecedents to perceptions of trustworthiness suggest that, in order to improve their image of trustworthiness, managers might exhibit behaviors that elicit in observers social categorizations and comparisons highlighting their similarity to observers, their institutional certification as competent, and their reputation for benevolence, competence, and integrity. Thus, the reviewed research provides the theoretical grounding needed to design effective tactics for managing images of interpersonal trustworthiness. Yet few organizational researchers have taken this step (Elsbach and Elofson 2000). Moreover, there appears to be no general framework that discusses how to use displayed behaviors and social cognitions to maintain or manage interpersonal trustworthiness.

In the remainder of this chapter, I develop a framework that defines some of the image management tactics managers and other organizational members might use to enhance their image of trustworthiness. This framework is grounded in the research on the antecedents of trustworthiness perceptions and in empirical findings from practitioner studies of perceptions of trustworthiness in, for example, counselors, educators, and politicians. The latter research provides a useful empirical lens for examining the relationship between behaviors and cognitions in managing impressions of trustworthiness because of its setting in practical, real-life contexts.

Tactics for Managing Images of Trustworthiness

Over the last two decades, a number of education and counseling researchers have examined the predictors of positive perceptions of trustworthiness between practitioners and their clients (Carter and Motta 1988; Arokiasamy et al. 1994). In addition, a number of social-psychological studies have examined the predictors of trustworthiness perceptions in contexts involving politicians or other leaders and their

followers (Bless et al. 2000). This research focuses on visible behaviors and displays that enhance perceptions of trustworthiness.

A review of this research (summarized in table 11.1) indicates three types of tactics available to individuals attempting to manage their trustworthiness images in interpersonal relationships:

1. Self-presentation behaviors—verbal accounts, references to titles, self-disclosures
2. Choice of language—formal or informal, specific, technical, easy or hard to understand
3. Physical appearance—dress, posture, facial expression, maturity

Further examination of this research reveals that these tactics may affect images of trustworthiness by suggesting one or more of the specific characteristics associated with trustworthiness: similarity to observers, belonging to a group that is stereotypically trustworthy, and having a reputation for competence, benevolence, or integrity.

In the following sections I discuss these three tactics, as well as some specific examples of each. I also discuss how each tactic might lead to specific trustworthiness categorizations. (See figure 11.1 for a summary of these tactics and their predicted effects on perceptions of trustworthiness.)

Self-Presentation Behaviors and Trustworthiness Images

Research in the area of impression management provides substantial evidence that interpersonal images may be enhanced through self-presentation behaviors (Giacalone and Rosenfeld 1989, 1991). Findings from several studies of practitioner-client interaction, such as counselors and patients or educators and students, suggest that trustworthiness may be one such image. One common self-presentation tactic that has been shown to enhance trustworthiness perceptions in these contexts is the revelation that one is similarly "human" to one's audience, that is, that one possesses the same human emotions, limits, or failings as one's audience. Such revelations may improve perceptions of trustworthiness by prompting clients to categorize practitioners as "in-group" members. For example, Edward J. Lundeen and W. John Schuldt (1989) showed a videotaped session between a counselor and a client to undergraduate students, and asked those students to empathize with the client. Their study found that the counselor was rated as more trustworthy if he disclosed information about himself that was similar to the difficult issues discussed by the client. In a similar study design with retired persons as raters of counselors, Bert Hayslip, Lawrence J. Schneider, and Kay Bryant (1989) found that a

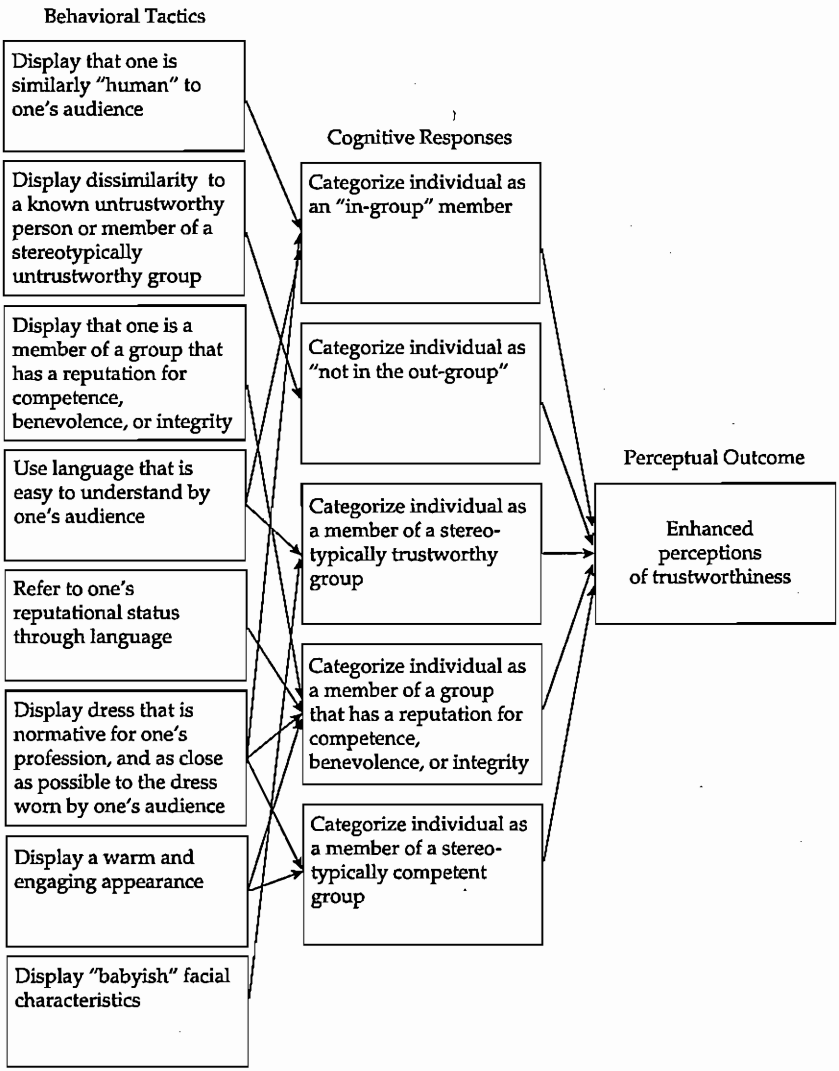
Table 11.1 Research on Perceptions of Interpersonal Trustworthiness

Citation	Factors Enhancing Trustworthiness Images	Factors Reducing Trustworthiness Images	Categorizations Suggested[a]
Self-presentation behaviors			
Bless et al. (2000)	Reference to one untrustworthy exemplar in category (such as politicians) increases trustworthiness of other contrasting category members.	Reference to one untrustworthy exemplar in category (such as politicians) reduces trustworthiness of general category.	Members of stereotypically untrustworthy group (politicians). Members of group dissimilar to out-group.
Newcomb et al. (2000)	Rock stars' testimonials in antidrug-use commercials.		Members of in-group. Members of group with competent reputation.
Lundeen and Schuldt (1989)	Therapist's self-disclosure about similar problems in videotaped mock-therapy session.		Members of in-group.
Arokiasamy et al. (1994)	Good attending skills by counselor in videotaped therapy session: attended to client's feelings, asked pertinent questions, made responses reflective of client's feeling statements.		Members of stereotypically legitimate group. Members of in-group.
Hayslip, Schneider, and Bryant (1989)	Client's ability to identify with individual counselor.		Members of in-group.
Myers and Dugan (1996)		Sexist behavior by professors in real-life classroom experiences (use of stereotypical examples of male and female roles, sexist language, calling only on males).	Members of stereotypically untrustworthy group (for example, bigots, sexists). Members of out-group.
Redfern, Dancey, and Dryden (1993)	Empathetic treatment of client by counselor.		Members of in-group.

Language			
Hurwitz, Miron, and Johnson (1992)	Words that connote power, status.	Passive voice.	Members of competent group.
Elsbach and Elofson (2000)	Easy-to-understand, colloquial language used by an expert communicating a decision explanation.	Hard-to-understand, technical language used by an expert communicating a decision explanation.	Members of in-group or out-group. Members of stereotypically untrustworthy group.
Physical appearance			
Roll and Roll (1984)	Informal dress.	Formal dress.	Members of in-group or stereotypically competent group. Members of out-group or stereotypically incompetent group.
Carter and Motta (1988)	Informal dress, counselors address others by first name.	Formal dress, counselors address others by surname.	Members of in-group or stereotypically competent group. Members of out-group or stereotypically incompetent group.
Heitmeyer and Goldsmith (1990)	Moderately formal dress.	Overly formal or informal dress.	Members of out-group or stereotypically incompetent group.
Brownlow (1992)	"Baby-faced" speaker.	"Mature-faced" speaker.	Members of stereotypically trustworthy or untrustworthy groups.
Lee, Uhlemann, and Haase (1985)	Perceptions by client: warm, concerned facial expression; spontaneous head nod; soft, pleasing voice; expressive gesture; timely smile; slow fluent speech; relaxed, approaching posture; steady eye contact for beginning counselors.		Members of stereotypically competent group.

Source: Author's compilation.
[a]Suggested by research, but not explicitly tested.

Figure 11.1 Tactics for Enhancing Interpersonal Perceptions of Trustworthiness



Source: Author's compilation.

client's ability to identify with a particular counselor (perceive a "oneness" with the counselor [Ashforth and Mael 1989]) increased ratings of the counselor's trustworthiness.

By contrast, other studies of client and practitioner interactions have shown that revealing or displaying how one *differs* from a known *untrust-*

worthy person or member of a stereotypically untrustworthy group can also enhance perceptions of that practitioner's trustworthiness. These revelations may improve trustworthiness perceptions by prompting clients to categorize practitioners as "not in the out-group." Although not mentioned by organizational frameworks describing the categorizations required for perceptions of trustworthiness (Whitener et al. 1998), such categorizations have been shown to be important in defining social identities because they connote "disidentifications" with an undesirable group (Elsbach and Bhattacharya 2001). An illustration of this process comes from a study by Daniel J. Myers and Kimberly B. Dugan (1996). They found that graduate students' perceptions of their professors' trustworthiness was negatively associated with reports of sexist behavior in the classroom by those professors, as evidenced by use of only masculine pronouns, calling on men more than women, and using course materials that don't include women and are not written by women. Their findings suggest that sexist behaviors may have prompted students to categorize the offending professor as a member of an out-group, that is, "sexists," as a well as a stereotypically untrustworthy group, that is, "bigots."

By contrast, a few studies by social psychologists have shown that presenting oneself as dissimilar to an untrustworthy other may improve one's image of trustworthiness. For example, Herbert Bless et al. (2000) studied German students' perceptions of real-life politicians after a short exercise that brought specific politicians to mind: they were required to identify the German state headed by four specific politicians. Results showed that including, as one of the four, a politician who was associated with a recent, widely known scandal decreased students' perceptions of the trustworthiness of politicians in general, but increased perceptions of the other three politicians' trustworthiness. The authors suggest that the judgment of German politicians in general was negative because the scandalous politician elicited the stereotypically untrustworthy category "politicians." Yet the other politicians, because of the contrast between them and the scandalous politician, were judged more positively; the students viewed these other politicians as different from the scandalous politician. Bless et al. (2000, 1042) describe these results as evidence of an inclusion-exclusion model of social judgment (see also Schwarz and Bless 1992). They note:

> Superordinate categories (such as German politicians) allow for the inclusion of subordinate context information (in this case, exemplars of the category "German politicians"). This results in assimilation effects [such as stereotyping] on judgments of superordinate targets. Lateral categories, however, such as different exemplars, are mutually exclusive. Hence the accessible context information is used in constructing a standard of comparison, resulting in contrast effects [in-groups vs. out-groups] on judgments of other lateral targets.

Finally, a few studies by social psychologists and counseling and education theorists have shown that revealing or displaying evidence that one is a member of a group that has a reputation for competence, benevolence, or integrity may enhance perceptions that one is trustworthy. For example, Michael D. Newcomb, Claire St. Antoine Mercurio, and Candace A. Wollard (2000) examined the effects of using unknown actors or widely known rock stars (Gene Simmons, Jon Bon Jovi, Belinda Carlysle, and Aimee Mann) in antidrug-use commercials aimed at high school students in Los Angeles. In a pre-test, Newcomb et al. found that 67 percent of a sample of these high school students expected heavy-metal rock stars to use "a lot of drugs." Further, recent studies suggested that a majority of these students would identify with rock stars (Arnett 1995). These findings suggest that high school students might categorize rock stars as members of a group that is "competent" to talk about the negative effects of drug use and also that is "similar" with respect to students' beliefs and attitudes. Both of these categorization processes would enhance students' perceptions of rock stars' trustworthiness as spokespersons in antidrug-use campaigns. Consistent with this prediction, Newcomb et al. (2000) found that the high school students perceived the rock stars, especially those admitting to personal drug use, as significantly more trustworthy than unknown actors.

In sum, the use of self-presentational behaviors—self-revelations, stereotypical behavior, labeling—may be used by organizational members to signal that they are similar to observers because they are either members of an in-group or not members of an out-group, and that they possess benevolence, competence, and integrity because they are members of groups with reputations for such traits. These relationships between self-presentation tactics and trustworthiness categorizations are depicted in figure 10.1.

Language and Trustworthiness Images

Research in the area of communication and language (Scherer and Giles 1979) as well as social influence and social judgment (Fiske and Taylor 1991) suggests that the language one uses to communicate with others, regardless of the content of one's message, affects perceptions of one's trustworthiness. Findings from a small set of studies of trustworthiness and language suggest this effect may be due, at least in part, to the social categorizations that language elicits.

First, using language that is easy to understand by one's audience may improve images of a speaker's trustworthiness by prompting observers to categorize the speaker as similar to themselves and as members of an in-group. By contrast, the use of difficult-to-understand language containing technical jargon not familiar to the audience may reduce images

of trustworthiness by leading observers to categorize the speaker as a member of an out-group. Further, using technical jargon and difficult-to-understand explanations may also lead observers to categorize the speaker as a member of a "stereotypically untrustworthy" group, for example, experts who hide behind jargon because they do not really understand the issue. Kimberly Elsbach and Greg Elofson (2000) found that the use of common or colloquial language and avoiding technical jargon improved managers' perceptions of a hypothetical consultant's trustworthiness in an exercise where students received advice about a foreign investment. The consultant who explained the logic of his investment decision in clear, simple terms understandable to a layperson was viewed as significantly more trustworthy than the one who used difficult-to-understand language.

Second, it appears that referring to one's status by means of titles and identifiers that connote status such as "head of organization," "New York State Police," or "Marshall fellow" or using language that indicates power (demanding and commanding as opposed to requesting) may enhance a person's image of trustworthiness. Such language may lead observers to categorize the speaker as "institutionally certified as competent." For example, Steven D. Hurwitz, Murray S. Miron, and Blair T. Johnson (1992) showed that "words that connote power" increased students' perceptions of the trustworthiness of videotaped expert witnesses, who had testified in actual medical malpractice trials. In their study, "power" words included remarks about the experts' official status, degree of prominence, and recognition in the field.

In sum, members of an organization may use specific types of language (technical jargon, common language, power words) (1) to signal that they are similar to observers because they are either members of an in-group or not members of an out-group, and (2) to signal that they are institutionally certified as competent. These relationships between language tactics and trustworthiness categorizations are depicted in figure 11.1.

Appearance and Trustworthiness Images

Finally, a number of studies of counselor-client interactions suggest that physical appearance can play an important role in the construction and maintenance of images of trustworthiness. Specifically, the dress, interpersonal demeanor, and facial characteristics of a counselor appear to affect perceptions of trustworthiness by clients.

First, a number of studies have shown that moderately informal dress—not too informal and not overly formal—enhances clients' perceptions of counselors' trustworthiness (Heitmeyer and Goldsmith 1990). For example, Randi I. Carter and Robert W. Motta (1988) had undergraduates view videotapes of simulated therapy sessions between a male ther-

apist and a patient. In cases where the therapist was dressed informally, wearing an open-collar sports shirt, students perceived him as significantly more trustworthy than when he wore a tie and jacket. In a similar study, Stephen A. Roll and Bonnie M. Roll (1984) engaged undergraduates in an actual fifty-minute counseling session with a female therapist in which they talked about stressors of college life. In sessions in which the counselor was informally dressed, wearing clean blue jeans and a sweater, students rated her as being significantly more trustworthy than in sessions in which she was formally dressed, in a tailored suit and dress shoes. Here, the authors suggest that moderately informal dress may signal that the counselor is similar to the client, a member of the in-group, because most clients dress informally. Further, it seems plausible that informal dress may signal that the counselor is a member of a stereotypically competent group—the stereotypical perception of competent counselors and therapists, supported by television and movie depictions, is that they wear sweaters and comfortable shoes and not suits and ties. Although not mentioned by organizational frameworks describing the categorizations required for perceptions of trustworthiness (Whitener et al. 1998), *stereotypical competence* seems like a relevant antecedent categorization of trustworthiness, similar to the more general categorization of stereotypical trustworthiness. Thus, while moderately informal dress may be important for eliciting trustworthy categorizations for counselors, the more general lesson to be learned from these studies is that individuals should display dress that is normative for their profession, and as close as possible to the dress worn by their audiences, those to whom they wish to project an image of trustworthiness.

Second, several studies suggest that a warm and engaging appearance may improve counselors' images of trustworthiness among clients. In one particularly thorough study, Dong Yul Lee, Max R. Uhlemann, and Richard F. Haase (1985) found that during a twenty-minute therapy session, clients perceived beginning counselors as more trustworthy the more they displayed a warm and engaging appearance, a warm and concerned facial expression, spontaneous head nod at appropriate times during the session, used expressive gestures, a timely smile, a relaxed, approachable posture, and steady eye-contact. They were perceived as less trustworthy the more they displayed a more distanced, formal appearance. In the former cases, clients may have perceived the beginning counselors as displaying appearances that they expected a seasoned counselor to display. That is, these beginning counselors were categorized as stereotypically competent. It should be noted, however, that Lee et al. (1985) also found that clients and counselors differed in their interpretation of the same appearances, so that appearances that clients interpreted as engaging were not necessarily the same as the

appearances counselors interpreted as engaging. So it is important, when you employ this tactic, to obtain reliable information about one's audience's preferences and perceptions of what constitutes an engaging appearance.

Finally, a few studies have shown that "babyish" facial characteristics may improve perceptions of trustworthiness by eliciting stereotypes about the physical appearance of honest and trustworthy people. Facial characteristics that are considered "babyish" include large heads and eyes and a youthful appearance. In one study examining perceived trustworthiness of a female student campaigning for an elected office on campus, Sheila Brownlow (1992) found that potential voters found a "baby-faced" candidate more trustworthy than a "mature-faced" candidate. In this case, the authors suggest that the baby-faced candidates were perceived as stereotypically honest and trustworthy, since we think of babies as innocent and free of guile.

In sum, appearance tactics (dress, engaging appearance, babyish facial characteristics) may be used by organizational members to signal that they are (1) similar to observers, (2) members of groups that are stereotypically thought to be competent, or (3) members of groups that are stereotypically thought to be honest and to possess integrity (see figure 11.1).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reviewed research that describes how cognitive and behavioral factors contribute to our perceptions of interpersonal trustworthiness. On the basis of this research I have proposed a set of linkages between specific cognitions—social categorizations—and enhanced perceptions of trustworthiness. On the basis of empirical research on practitioner-client relationships, I have in turn proposed a set of linkages between these specific social categorizations that enhance trustworthiness perceptions and a number of specific image management tactics. In this manner I have explicitly identified a framework of tactics that members of organizations might use to construct and maintain images of trustworthiness.

The implications of this framework are both theoretical and practical. First, this framework synthesizes theory about behavioral and cognitive antecedents of trustworthiness by indicating how specific behaviors might elicit specific cognitions relevant to trustworthiness perceptions. In doing so, it begins to fill some of the gaps in understanding of trustworthiness perceptions outlined by Whitener et al. (1998). It identifies some of the boundary conditions—the types of social categorizations most easily prompted by image management behaviors—that may limit the effectiveness of managers' attempts to improve trustworthiness per-

ceptions among their employees. Further, it identifies at least two new categorizations that might lead to perceptions of trustworthiness: that one is not in the out-group and thus is dissimilar from untrustworthy group members and that one is a member of a stereotypically competent group. These two categorizations are suggested by empirical findings from client-practitioner research and provide enhancements to existing frameworks describing the cognitive antecedents of trustworthiness.

Second, this framework provides some practical guidance about the kinds of image management tactics that specific organizational members may effectively use. For example, it may be relatively easy for many organizational members to alter their dress to improve perceptions of trustworthiness, but relatively difficult for most to alter their physical characteristics—their facial appearance, posture, or smile. In cases where written communication is used as a means of improving trustworthiness perceptions, easy-to-understand language should be used in communications in general, but references to technical titles and degrees etc. might be used when it is important to gain trust by appearing "institutionally legitimate." It is also important to note that the findings upon which this framework is based show that it the audience's perceptions of the behavior, not the image maker's, determine the management tactic's effectiveness in eliciting desired social categorizations. Thus, before choosing any tactic, an impression manager must understand how his or her audience defines "in-groupness," legitimacy, competence, integrity, and benevolence.

These contributions notwithstanding, the ideas presented in the current framework may present an ethical dilemma for managers who do not wish to "cultivate a belief that managers merely need to display the appearance of trustworthiness (Greenberg 1990) to create trusting relationships" (Whitener et al. 1998, 525). Yet, as Whitener et al. (525) go on to note: "[I]mpression management attempts need not be manipulative or insincere (Goffman 1959; Liden and Mitchell 1988). Indeed, a focus on behavior calls attention to what organizations can do to initiate and manage trustworthy behavior and to engender and support trusting relationships that are self-perpetuating and sustainable."

In the end, then, the present framework may best serve organizations as a means to identify the types of behavior they wish to naturally elicit from their members.

Notes

1. It is significant that Roger C. Mayer, James H. Davis, and F. David Schoorman (1995) define the components of trustworthiness in purely cognitive terms (perceptions of others), and differentiate their framework from those that

include affective components of trustworthiness such as feelings of shared values (McAllister 1995). My focus on image management in this chapter leads me to rely on the cognitive framework.

2. I omit stable personality traits as an antecedent factor to images of trustworthiness because of the difficulty in influencing such traits, meaning that they are not good targets for image management tactics.

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